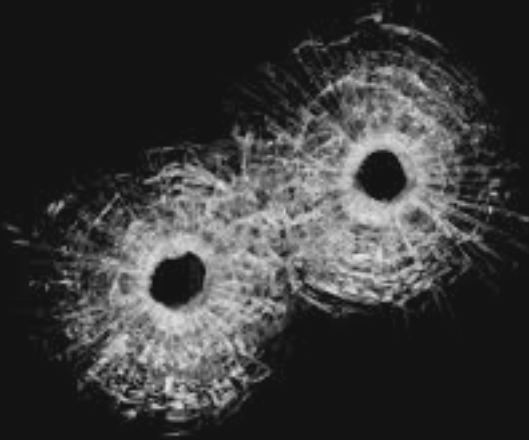


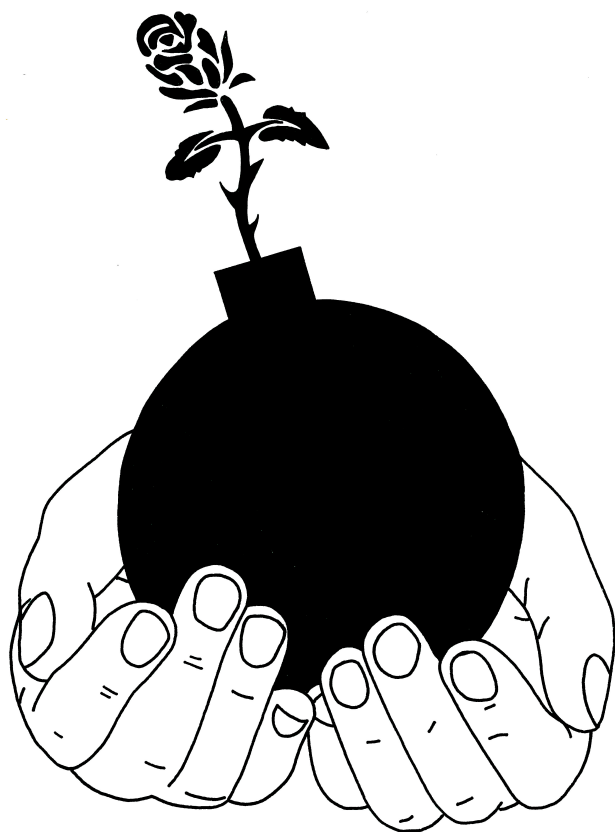
Issue Four April 2015

aargh!

Aotearoa Anarchist Review



WAR



Trickle down

The only trickle down in this town
Is the sound
Of piss trickling down the drain

Broken dreams, Broken lives
Smoking pipe dreams
Empty days and wasted lives

It's a fact, so I am told
Off an economical miracle
A rock star economy
In my town, it's a joke

There sits in a glass tower
A suit, sipping a single malt
Who with the stroke of a pen
Consigns a whole town to the dustbin

Good times just around the corner
They tell me on the six o'clock news
Good time for the select few
And trust me that's a fact

Holidays in Hawaii
A Mansion in Herne Bay
But all I have is five dollars
And no food in my fridge

The only trickle down in this town
Is the sound
Of piss trickling down the drain

ARJ

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On the Gentlemanly Art of Sabre-rattling



By Peppertree

Kaiser Wilhelm II and his sons rattling down the road...

ON SUNDAY, 8 March 2015, International Women's Day, Wellington mayor Celia Wade-Brown gave a speech at the Newtown festival. She talked about her visit to Hiroshima some time ago and how it had changed her life. She then went on to say how lucky we all are that we haven't had a war since then. Maybe what she wanted to say was that people like her hadn't been affected by war. These days, wars happen in countries like Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria where most of us have never been, and even though the NZ government manages to get involved in most of them, 'the war' isn't really hitting home here. This is because the vast majority of people getting killed don't belong to the European ethnicity and class that forms the NZ mainstream. People whose families are in the Middle East will tell a different story.

But that may soon change if what seems to be developing in Europe continues. While the media here occasionally report about the 'Ukraine crisis', this is usually portrayed as a battle between the good Ukrainian patriots and the bad Russian separatists. More nuanced reports may mention that many of the Maidan protesters of a year ago were carrying photos of their fascist hero Stepan Bandera and that the Ukraine used to be the Soviet Union's main food source, indicating that the situation may be more complex than it seems. But whatever the angle is, the fighting is represented as a local problem, confined to the Ukraine.

What is rarely mentioned, and hardly ever put in context, is the massive build-up of military power at Europe's eastern borders that has been happening over the last year, and of which NATO's secretary general Jens Stoltenberg said that it could "spiral out of control" and "escalate rapidly".

Afraid that the Ukrainian conflict might spill over to them, the three Baltic states and former Soviet republics Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have rung the alarm bells. They observed increased activity of the Russian navy, including live fire and paratroopers, off their coast and have asked for assistance from their NATO partners. Also, in December 2014, Russia conducted a major exercise in Kaliningrad, an enclave located between Poland and Lithuania.

All three Baltic countries have been NATO members for about ten years and are members of the European Union. Latvia and Lithuania are currently planning to introduce conscription. "The current geopolitical environment requires us to enhance and accelerate army recruitment," said Lithuanian president Grybauskaitė.

This prompted the US to send some 3000 troops and 500 tanks to the region in early March. These will be part of a NATO exercise named Operation Atlantic Resolve which is supposed to "reassure NATO allies concerned over renewed Russian aggression amid the ongoing crisis in Ukraine." Once the exercise is over, the hardware is supposed to remain in the area.

Page two

NATO has also been building six new command centres in Poland and the Baltic states to accommodate the newly created 'Very High Readiness Joint Task Force' (VJTF), comprising some 5000 troops. 'Very High Readiness' means that troops will be "ready to move within two to three days". The troops will be constantly rotated between the member states in order not to contravene an agreement with Russia from the '90s that forbids NATO permanently stationing troops in the region. A NATO press release of 23 February states that the VJTF has already started exercises under German leadership.

The establishment of the VJTF has prompted the German army to rethink their planned scrapping of old tanks. Instead, it will re-activate an already dis-established battalion in a former British military post in Lower Saxony. Defence minister von der Leyen said that this was necessary because the VJTF required "more material, for example tanks, that is available immediately".

In February, Germany also announced plans to sell 100 so-called Boxer tanks (light tanks with wheels) to Lithuania.

At the other end of the EU's eastern border, in the Black Sea, NATO is also currently involved in a navy exercise. Exercises like this have routinely happened for a long time, but what has changed is that the Crimea is no longer part of a NATO-friendly country but part of Russia. NATO navies are now exercising right in front of Russia's Black Sea ports.

The build-up of troops and weapons is of course accompanied by the corresponding language. US General O'Connor, who leads Operation Atlantic Resolve, talks about "Russian aggression" and British defence minister Fallon calls Putin a "real and present danger" in the Baltic.

Fallon's Canadian counterpart, Jason Kenney, told parliament in February that "since arriving in the Black Sea, Royal Canadian Navy sailors have been confronted by Russian warships and buzzed by Russian fighter jets." NATO officials quickly rejected that claim, saying that the Russian navy could be seen, but "far off on the horizon".

And Poland's prime minister Komorowski already appears to be hunkering in a bunker when he talks about "strengthening NATO's eastern flank".

Finally, the capitalists are making sure they get their profits either way. German weapons manufacturer Rheinmetall is reportedly planning to sue the German government to the tune of €120 million for

the loss of a contract to supply the Russian army with a weapons training system. The deal was cancelled by the government as a result of the Ukraine crisis. Rheinmetall, with an annual turnover of €4.7 billion, has a long track record of making sure it doesn't lose out whenever a conflict arises. The company has been making profits from war since 1889, with two short involuntary interruptions during post-war periods. During World War II, Rheinmetall was so closely connected with the Nazi regime that it became part of 'Reichswerke Hermann Göring', exploiting thousands of slave workers from concentration camps.

Stevan Eldred-Grigg describes in his book *The Great Wrong War* how this kind of sabre-rattling (both verbal and physical) provided the slippery slope into World War I. After Austria-Hungary had used the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand as an excuse to declare war on Serbia, the situation quickly developed its own dynamic until finally Britain declared war on Germany because its troops were marching through Belgium on their way to France.

So why is even NATO secretary Stoltenberg concerned that the situation in eastern Europe could get out of hand? This has to do with article 5 of the NATO statute, which states that an attack on one is an attack on all. It means that should one of the Baltic states seriously call for help and should the NATO decide to invoke article 5 then all 28 member countries are obliged to help. This includes military heavyweights like the US, Britain, France and Germany, but also small and politically fragile countries like Bulgaria, Romania and Albania.

In NATO's 66-year history, article 5 has been invoked exactly once – by the US after 9/11. The result was the creation of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) as a NATO unit. It was deployed to Afghanistan in December 2001 and parts of it are still there @@@



...and today's NATO reincarnations.

Enhancing mental and emotional health

By Ken V.

Introduction

Mental and emotional ill-health is strongly influenced, and often initiated by, life events or circumstances. This may explain why the recorded incidence of mental illness has increased in the last forty years, from affecting one in five people to one in four. Similar increases have occurred for many physical illnesses; this also points to environmental factors. At least one in four people will experience a mental health problem at some point in their life, and one in six adults has a mental health problem at any one time.

Anarchists would say that capitalism makes people sick. Poverty, working conditions, loss of environmental space, fear mongering and the individualism of a competitive, neoliberal capitalist society all affect physical and mental wellbeing. The pharmaceutical industry does its bit by pushing 'a pill for every ill' rather than addressing the causes of illness.

Doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists and other health professionals have a limited ability to influence the outcome of psychiatric disorder. However, the resilience of the human mind and body is significant and a person's ability to cure themselves is underestimated. In mental health, more than in physical health, Do It Yourself (with the help of supportive friends or family) is particularly important.

Definition of mental health

The World Health Organisation (WHO) defined health in its 1948 constitution as 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.' This represents an ideal, since few people at any stage, let alone all stages of their life, are perfectly well in all respects.

The WHO defines mental health as 'a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and usefully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community.' A state of well-being is obviously more than just the absence of illness. It includes normal mental, physical, emotional and spiritual capacity.

A person in good mental and emotional health:

- Feels contentment.
- Has enthusiasm for living and the ability to laugh and have fun.
- Can deal with stress and recover from negative events.
- Has a sense of meaning and purpose, in their activities and relationships.
- Is able to learn new things and adjust to change.
- Keeps a balance between work and play, rest and activity, etc.
- Initiates and maintains fulfilling relationships.
- Has self-confidence and good self-esteem.

Combating stigma

Mental state forms a spectrum from severely disturbed to extremely stable, with most of us somewhere in the middle. It varies between individuals and also over time, with some making a complete recovery and others a partial recovery, or long periods of good health interspersed with illness.

Mental illness has carried and still carries a stigma, but we should recognise that mental health (or illness) is relative and that people with mental health differences can contribute greatly to society.



Everyone should oppose the stigma. Ways of doing this include not making a link between criminality and mental illness, but recognising the strong link between mental illness, social alienation and suicide; not using pejorative words like crazy, psycho; not avoiding people with mental illness; separating the person from the problem; and not defining a person by his/her mental illnesses. Some people, such as activists, writers and artists, can romanticise mental illness and this is also an unhelpful view.

Encourage the discussion of mental illness with sympathetic and sensitive people. Talking about the problem is the best way of removing stigma. Humour helps: people with mental illness can have a great sense of humour.

Nomenclature

Psychiatric labels are imprecise and an attempt to simplify what is complex. Not all mental illness is or can be diagnosed. To understand psychiatric thinking, however, it is useful to know about the five-axis classification of mental illness:

- I. Personality type
- II. Main psychiatric diagnosis
- III. Co-existing physical illness
- IV. Best adjustment made in the previous year
- V. Degree of stress over the previous year.

The last two axes reflect the impact of behavioural and environmental factors on prognosis (the likely future course of illness).

Commonly used diagnoses are:

Anorexia nervosa; Anxiety and phobias; Attention Deficit & Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD); Autism & Asperger's; Bipolar disorder; Bulimia; Dementia; Depression; Mania and hypomania; Obsessive/Compulsive disorder (OCD); Personality disorder; Post-traumatic stress (PTSD); Psychosis; Schizophrenia; Self-harm; Substance abuse.

Some useful terms include:

Delusion: an unshakeable false belief not consistent with the individual's level of knowledge and cultural or religious background.

Insight: the ability of an affected person to accept or realise that they have a mental problem.

Orientation in time, place and being able to recognise people can be impaired by dementia, delirium, drugs, depression, psychosis etc.

Nature versus nurture

Some people attribute all physical characteristics, illness and behaviour to an individual's genes or DNA. The term 'addictive personality' is an example,

implying that addiction is based on genes rather than choices. However, it is generally accepted that mental illness, like physical illness, requires both a genetic susceptibility and environmental factors to bring out the disease. Schizophrenia, for example, usually begins during the stressful time of adolescence or later.

The advice to 'choose your parents' if you want to avoid illness is of course useless, but it reflects the fact that both genetic propensity to disease, as well as learned good or bad behaviours and choices, may be passed on to children by their parents.

Stress and environmental triggers

Mental and emotional health is shaped by our experiences, especially childhood experiences. Biological and genetic factors can also play a role.

Triggers and risk factors include:

- Poor attachment to a parent or carer early in life. Feeling lonely, isolated, unsafe, confused, abandoned or abused as an infant or young child.
- Traumas or serious losses, especially early in life. Death of a parent or other traumatic experiences such as war or hospitalisation.
- Learned helplessness. Negative experiences that lead to a belief that you have little control over the situations in your life.
- Illness, especially if it is chronic (long-lasting), disabling, or isolates you from others.
- Side effects of medications, especially in older people who may be taking a variety of medications.
- Substance abuse. Alcohol and drug abuse can both cause mental health problems and make pre-existing mental or emotional problems worse.
- Chronic pain, hunger, cold, loneliness. Unpleasant surroundings.

Red flags:

- Unable to sleep.
- Feeling down, hopeless, or helpless most of the time.
- Concentration problems that interfere with your work, study or home life.
- Using nicotine, food, drugs, or alcohol to cope with difficult emotions.
- Negative or self-destructive thoughts or fears that you can't control.
- Hallucinations, hearing voices.
- Thoughts of death or suicide.

If you identify with any of these red flag symptoms, or someone close to you has one, consider making an appointment with a mental health professional, or at least calling a helpline. Some things are not solved by DIY or the help of well-meaning friends or family.

Collective madness

The WHO definition of mental health can also apply to healthy communities, where social functioning is another aspect of well-being.

Carl Jung (1875-1961) was one of the first to describe collective madness, suggesting that we not only have a personal unconscious mind but are also part of a collective unconscious mind which at times becomes activated and creates a collective psychosis. In the western world, we are living in a society committed to infinite growth, consumerism, resource extraction, war, and denial of how destructive these aims are.

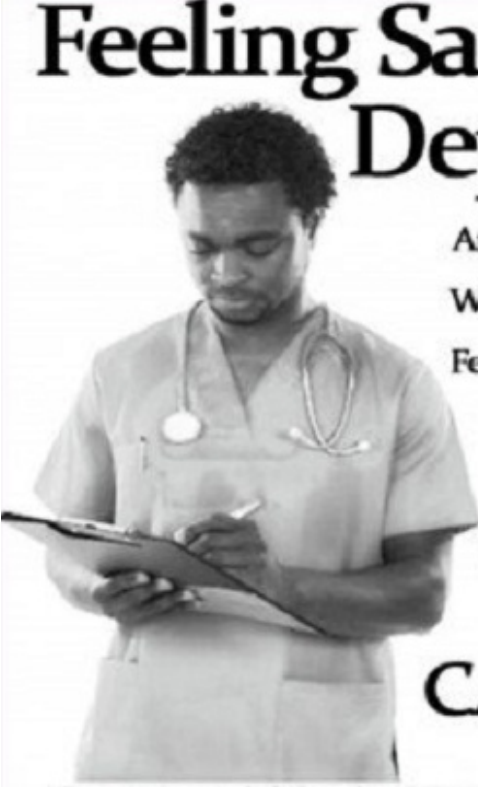
Citizens of industrial economies are living in societies in steep decline. Post-industrial capitalism has destroyed the conditions required for healthy childhood development. The dominant story of our culture is a false religion of 'infinite progress' mixed with anxiety and despair as people keep busy so they don't have to think. If an individual or a community is not experiencing progress, it is assumed that individual or community is not exerting enough effort, is not working smart enough, or its investments are not shrewd enough.

"Mainstream psychiatry does not recognise this collective psychosis, let alone address it.

Because of the individualistic bias of mainstream psychotherapy, we have been conditioned to assume that we are essentially separate selves, driven by aggressive impulses, competing for a place in the sun. In the light of these assumptions, psychotherapists tend to view our affective responses to the plight of our world as dysfunctional and give them short shrift. As a result, we have trouble crediting the notion that concerns for the general welfare might be genuine enough and acute enough to cause distress. Assuming that all our drives are ego-generated, therapists tend to regard feelings of despair for our planet as manifestations of some private neurosis." – *Carolyn Baker*.

DIY mental healthcare in practice

Despite all the internal or external factors that have determined your mental and emotional health, it is possible to change things to improve psychological well-being. Risk factors (including life under capitalism) can be overcome by protective factors, such as working to change the political system, good relationships, a healthy lifestyle and effective ways of dealing with stress and negative emotions. Most



Feeling Sad and Depressed?

Are you anxious?
Worried about the future?
Feeling isolated and alone?

You might be suffering from CAPITALISM

Symptoms may include: homelessness, unemployment, poverty, hunger, feelings of powerlessness, fear, apathy, boredom, cultural decay, loss of identity, extreme self-consciousness, loss of free speech, incarceration, suicidal or revolutionary thoughts, death.

advice about looking after your health is common sense and supported by biomedical research and clinical practice. It is preferable to learn from others' mistakes rather than have to make them yourself.

Eat well, feel better

Dietary deficiencies affect the way we feel. Learn about good nutrition and practise it. Don't skip meals. Eat three meals a day with two 'healthy' snacks (for example fruit or yoghurt) in between. Eat breakfast within an hour of waking up. Never skip breakfast. Try to have at least five portions of fruit and vegetables every day. Try to drink 6-8 glasses of water every day.

Exercise and mental health

Exercise makes your brain release chemicals that make you feel good – the same chemicals that you get from antidepressants. For mild depression, physical activity can be as good as antidepressants or psychological treatments like cognitive behavioural therapy.

Aim to do at least 30 minutes of moderate exercise, five days a week. Exercise with a friend, so you can motivate each other.

Get enough sleep

Lack of sleep contributes to a high rate of depression in adolescents. Get seven to eight hours a night, and make up for lost hours the next night. Avoid caffeinated drinks after 6 pm.

Get enough sunlight

Exposure to bright sunlight calibrates the body clock via the pineal gland and produces vitamin D in the skin. Make sure you get enough sun in winter by not sleeping late.

Help other people

People who volunteer for causes they care about tend to be happier and healthier, and even live longer.

Believe in yourself

Having a low opinion of yourself can make you more prone to mental health problems such as eating disorders, depression or anxiety and phobias.

Practise healthy thinking. Write down the things you like about yourself. Think about your best feature and write it down. Think about things you have achieved and add them to the list. Think about nice things you have done for other people, skills you have, talents that you or others have noticed, and write all these positive things down. This is good to look back on when you are having a bad day.

Value yourself

If you are spending a lot of time with someone who makes you feel rubbish about yourself, then spend less time with them and more time with people who make you feel good about yourself. Treat yourself with kindness and respect, and avoid self-criticism. Be grateful for what you have, or had in the past.

Deal with stress

Failing to take time to recharge your batteries and relax can contribute to some mental health problems such as anxiety or depression, or make existing mental disorders worse. Relaxation therefore is key to maintaining positive mental wellbeing. Make leisure a priority in your schedule.

Deal with stress by pausing, taking deep breaths, walking, taking up a hobby, playing with a pet, aerobic exercise, yoga, tai chi, pilates, meditation, having a warm bath or shower, playing or listening to music, watching a film, reading a book, or meeting a friend. Contemplate and appreciate the good in life. Remember to smile and see the humour in life. Laughter can boost your immune system, ease pain, relax your body and reduce stress.

Learn to release anger and let go of grudges, to forgive others and release the past.

Build a healthy support network

Friends and family can be vital sources of support and can help you cope with stressful situations and difficult times. Choose someone who is non-judgemental and a good listener, who has good empathy and whom you have known for some time.

Have an accountability partner, someone who helps you monitor your goals and progress. Learn to ask for help when you need it. Seeking help is a sign of strength, not a weakness.

Connect to things bigger than you

These can be political or social causes, charities and other organisations working for the common good, or the fields of art, science, literature and music.

Set realistic goals

Aim high, but be realistic and don't over-schedule. Make progress towards your goals at a challenging yet feasible speed. You can expect a great sense of accomplishment and self-worth as you work toward your goal.

Break up the monotony

Routines make us more efficient and enhance our feelings of security and safety, but a little variety and change of pace can revitalise a tedious schedule.

Avoid dependency on alcohol and other drugs

Sometimes people use alcohol and other drugs to 'self-medicate' but in fact alcohol and other drugs only aggravate problems.

Be self-aware rather than self-conscious

Learn to appreciate the moment and concentrate on your senses to counteract bad feelings.

Keep your brain active

Work and leisure activities (Sudoku, crosswords, board games) should stretch your memory and thought processes in the same way that physical exercise builds stamina.

Have a plan for your life

Engage in meaningful, purposeful, creative work and hobbies. Manage your finances properly, or get budget advice. Plan and make positive lifestyle changes.

Have a healthy attitude

Evaluate the five human needs as they apply to you: connection, freedom, significance, survival and enjoyment. Different people need different amounts of each.

Recognise and take responsibility for your choices. Avoid victimhood or self-pity. Take control of moving towards your goals; don't rely on others or blame them for your inability to move forward.

Take control of your perceptions, which may be unrelated to fact, and create a better story.

Look for balance in all things. Everything has positive and negative qualities, but we may see only the bad ones. Expose your self-sabotage or negative thoughts about yourself. Realise that they are not true and let them go.

Delaying gratification can lead to more satisfaction in the long run.

Use a both/and approach. “How can I have/do/be both?” It is not always possible, but worth exploring.

Accept others exactly as they are. They aren’t likely to change. Don’t try to make people change to fit in with what you would like them to be. If you don’t like the way a person is choosing to live his or her life, then limit your involvement with that person.

Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT)

CBT is a talking therapy that focuses on how we make sense of our feelings and how to change negative patterns of thinking or behaviour. In turn, this can change the way we feel.

CBT theory suggests that it isn’t events or feelings themselves that upset you, but the meanings you give to them. CBT uncovers how you think, behave and feel, then helps you explore other ways of thinking and behaving that may be more useful. This therapy can be effective for anxiety, panic attacks, depression, OCD, and other common mental health problems.

CBT techniques can be learned from books or on-line teaching videos.

Dealing with depression

Change your feelings of sadness. Feelings can only be changed indirectly, by altering your underlying thoughts and/or behaviours. Ask yourself: Is this thought irrational? Am I imagining the worst-case scenario? Is this thought really helpful right now? Examine the thoughts that trigger sadness, and consciously construct a more rational, positive alternative thought.

Change an underlying negative belief system. Believing ‘I’m not good enough’ or ‘I’m not worthy’ can undermine your efforts to get better. Help yourself by recognising whether you have such a belief system that is causing your depression. CBT is helpful here.

Stop the downward spiral of depression. Do things that have helped in the past, like exercise or taking a break from routine. Don’t wait until you feel motivated. When you force yourself to engage in a ‘feel good’ behaviour, you start to break the negative cycle and take a more positive trajectory.

Externalize your depression. Give it an identity outside of yourself. Ask yourself: What does ‘depression’ make you do? Attribute the unfavourable aspects of depression to this separate entity, not to you. Recognise that if you don’t differentiate it from who you are,

depression can become so internalised that it starts to be seen as the only truth and story you can tell about yourself.

Find exceptions to times you are depressed, in the past or more recently. What was different during those times? What specific thoughts or behaviours are you doing when you manage depression well?

Recovery

A person can have a diagnosis of mental illness and still have positive mental health. Mental illness is often cyclical, with long intervals of good mental health. Taking care of environmental factors can help prevent relapses. With appropriate care and support, people can recover from mental illness and substance abuse disorders and lead full, rewarding lives. Recovery may not mean cure, but being able to live a satisfying and significant life, recovering or rebuilding, despite disability, and gaining control over any continuing symptoms to minimise their interference with life @@@

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Therapy session

Snowed under by surveillance

By Sojourner

IT WAS in June 2013 that we first heard of Edward Snowden. A lot has changed since then, but a lot stays the same.

In New Zealand at that time there was a scandal about illegal spying and surveillance. The government had admitted that the GCSB broke the law by spying on Kim Dotcom and they apologised; 85 other people had also been spied on, but this spying was “arguably legal”. In the months preceding Edward Snowden’s whistle-blowing, nearly every day there had been something in the media about spying, surveillance and the GCSB.

In the days after Snowden’s release of the PRISM powerpoints, I wrote that it was no longer just the GCSB in trouble for spying on its own citizens, but also the US spy agency NSA and the British GCHQ. Logically, it meant all members of the ‘Five-Eyes’ were involved in mass surveillance.

It was interesting, when those first hideous powerpoints appeared there was a feeling of outrage. It was as if people suddenly understood that everyone was subject to surveillance; it was not just Dotcom and a handful of others whose emails were being read, but theirs also.

Over the years there had been other whistle-blowers, other leaks. Just a few months before Snowden we had heard of the 2000-01 NSA practice-run in NZ of ‘ThinThread’, a mass surveillance programme (the CTU’s reaction had been to laugh, it didn’t matter if the NSA was spying on us – we had nothing to hide!). Even David Lange had leaked posthumously. After Lange’s death the Sunday Star Times published part of a GCSB file found in his archives, the GCSB’s targets in the Pacific and further afield were publicised. There was little coverage of it. Similar information, when released by Snowden, resulted in much public debate.

With Snowden, for some reason people seemed to take note. There seemed to be a lot of anger about mass surveillance.

My friends and I hoped that the result would be more

resistance to the increasing expansion of our security intelligence agencies. We thought there would be more discussion of Five-Eyes and our involvement in policing the world. Maybe it could be the beginning of the end. We wrote that ‘metadata’ would become the most hated word of the decade.

We were wrong on so many counts.

Snowden and the NSA became regular household names. Dotcom was vilified; he went from capitalist hero to capitalist villain. And ‘metadata’ has become a normalised word in our language. Prior to Snowden, ‘metadata’ was rarely heard, but just months after Snowden the word began to appear in the small-print on web-sites. There were some changes to the spying structure too, tweaks and changes here and there.

The fall-out

After Snowden’s revelations the GCSB lost its ‘Mastery of Cyber-Space’ subtitle and now surveils with no super-wizardry claims. Paul Neazor, the former NZ inspector-general of intelligence and security, lost his job days after a taped phone conversation was released. In the recording he likened Dotcom to Julian Assange and could not even recall the name of the head of the GCSB. This year the head of the GCSB has also gone – both men replaced by women.

Meanwhile the mass of data that Edward Snowden took when he left the NSA continues to be released. There have been many more powerpoints, including some directly focussed on the role of the GCSB in the Five-Eyes. But now all the powerpoints seem to do is cause a mere ripple of discomfort. John Key and his allies are quick to come up with repartees and the focus moves off surveillance.

If they cannot change the subject or find another story to sop up the media’s attention, then the old bogey of ‘terrorism’ is raised. So many times the mantra is heard that surveillance is done to protect ‘us’ against the ‘bad guys’. And we cannot know the truth because it is too dangerous.

The power of powerpoints

Nearly two years after Snowden first appeared I do wonder what happened to the outrage felt back in mid-2013.

Sometimes I think it could be the atrocious powerpoints. Was it a deliberate PR tactic; how can anyone take the Five-Eyes seriously when they have such lousy presentations? If that's their powerpoint capability, how can they be a threat?

Aside from the abysmal slides, the names of the surveillance tools are like something from a 1950s sci-fi comedy: examples include Egoistic Giraffe, Evil Olive, Pony Express, Blarney, Stormview, Muscular and Moonlightpath. Again, how can any of this be real? Let alone a threat.

Yet the combination of the powerpoints and pathetic names ensures that the focus is on the tools of surveillance. I'm guilty of that. Out comes news of Cortex and Speargun and I get bogged down in the details, wanting to know how they work and dreaming of cutting the cable. Instead of keeping the discussion on what the surveillance is used for.

The focus on the tools of surveillance serves to ensure that any analysis is on the practices and policies and laws that the state uses to allow the surveillance. The assumption is that it's the agencies or a particular government which are bad. All we need is stronger oversight or a few legal tweaks here and there and then all will be all right.

The debate never really delves deeper into the realities behind it all – and the reality is that this is not just about surveillance and who spies on us or whom we spy on. This is about control of the world. The is about the role of the Five-Eyes.

Five-Eyes and surveillance

The 'Five-Eyes' run a world-wide mass surveillance, data collection and social manipulation programme. It's relatively new, a group established by the UKUSA Agreement in 1946. UKUSA divides the world into regional areas of responsibilities; the US is the director and the other core members are Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. As John Key puts it so eloquently, we are part of 'the Club': five English-speaking nations seeking to ensure 'our way of life' remains dominant. Between us, we've got the whole world covered. The sun never sets on the Five-Eyes.



Surveillance didn't start with the Five-Eyes though. When the UKUSA Agreement was signed, the NSA didn't exist. Prior to the NSA was the 'Black Chamber'. The Black Chamber did a lot of Hoovering up of data despite the fact that it was illegal to access telegrams to and from the US. Black Chamber gained access via the corporate world – Western Union granted Black Chamber daily access to all the messages passing through its wires.

Black Chamber wasn't the first either. Surveillance really became a tool of the state in the late 18th Century. To ensure 'order' was maintained and the French Revolution did not pollute the rest of Europe, many countries practised wide-spread surveillance. At one time every item of mail going to, travelling through, or coming from France was purported to be opened. People employed to deliver mail obligingly helped. A diplomat at the time wrote, "every word can be interpreted in a bad sense; paper is nowadays an evil treasure, at any moment it may become a red-hot coal".

So back then the use of paper was made a threat by surveillance, now it is the internet. Then it was the threat of revolution and Jacobins that was used as an excuse to increase the powers of surveillance. Now the 'Islamic threat' is used as an excuse.

And all along there has been the collaboration between capitalism and surveillance; a link that Snowden helped to prove. Remember how those first PRISM powerpoints highlighted the connections between Google, You-tube, Skype and Facebook and the security intelligence agencies? However, corporate entities not only help the security intelligence apparatus, they also

practice surveillance themselves. Corporate surveillance is immense.

Surveillance of workplaces began during the industrial revolution. Later the assembly line made the surveillance obvious, now it is ingrained in our ethos. The camera in the work kitchen is good as it ensures no one steals my lunch. We do not think how it affects our behaviour.

Henry Ford decided it was also important to monitor his workers at their homes. He did not want any unruly elements in his car factories. Now we monitor our own homes; the corporate world has done such a good job that people monitor their children, beginning with baby cameras and listening devices. Children are now growing up thinking it's normal to have surveillance devices in their private lives. Everyone needs to be watched or listened to.

The effect of surveillance

Surveillance weaves through our lives as workers and consumers. We live in a world where surveillance is normalised. What used to exist only in movies and books is now becoming a reality. Every movement of a smart-phone is tracked and recorded. Every time we make an eft-pos purchase, visit an internet site, send or receive a text – all that data is recorded. Different state agencies have huge data files on people; just think of the information that the IRD have on you – they may also have your voice print.

Everytime we use a loyalty card at the supermarket, use FlyBuys, travel on motorways, visit a Westfield shopping mall – we are recorded. There are tracking devices in billboards and shop dummies to record people. RFID chips in credit cards and passports are scanned to ascertain who we are and what our habits are. Soon drones will be hovering in our skies, just like they are in the US and Britain already. Surveillance is embedded in our daily lives.

And a surveilled population is easier to control. Surveillance is a key part of capitalism used to shape and direct individuals and communities. It is the backbone of the social order, serving to maintain the status quo. The powers-that-be know that. In 18th century France, people talked of the importance of surveillance to maintain control of the population.

Surveillance is in place to protect the minority of people who control the world's resources and and to ensure that a capitalist world-order is maintained. Surveillance is political control.

Fight back

It is time to move beyond Snowden's powerpoints. We need to no longer focus on what the NSA or GCSB (or any other state intelligence agency) is doing, but look at why.

The fanatic terrorism hysteria being whipped up by the nations that form the Five-Eyes has to be exposed. We need to try and make visible the Five-Eyes and their role in policing the world and manipulating societies. We should not only be outraged when a bomb detonates in a café in a 'western' country, we also need to be outraged when drone strikes kill wedding parties or land on high schools in countries like Pakistan. Drones sent using information supplied by the GCSB.

We need to look beyond the hype and imagery that dominate our world-view. So many people believe, for all its faults, that 'our way of life' is the only way. So many believe that we do need to be constantly fearful of Islamic people, of terror attacks, of the burglar, the rapist, the anarchists and arsonists. In reality though, we should be fearful of where capitalist and imperialist greed is taking us. We need to stop the mad-rush to endless war and tragic climate change.

I don't purport to have an answer to how to stop the Five-Eyes, but here are some ideas:

- We can try and control the corporate surveillance that occurs and help each other to learn to challenge it and expose it; on an individual basis we must learn not to succumb so readily and participate in it.
- We can attempt to expose the connections between big business, capitalism and state surveillance – from simple postering and graffiti to street theatre and art, from demos on the streets to cyber-warriors attacking and turning the tables on the state and corporate powers.
- We can find visible examples of local surveillance and expose it, for example we can start small and simple with CCTV cameras.
- We can also find visible and easily accessible examples of the Five-Eyes at work, these include Pipitea House, Waihopai and Tangimoana, various Embassies, and even a Palantir office in downtown Wellington.
- We can do some surveillance of our own. The spies and security agencies and corporate world involved in surveillance all have names.

The fight will not be easy, but we can fight back. We must @@@

Further information:

- OASIS – oasisfromsurveillance.blogspot.co.nz
- Aotearoa Indymedia – search surveillance, GCSB, Drones
- Whitaker, R 1999. The End of Privacy. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.
- Zamoyski, A 2015. Phantom Terror: The threat of revolution and the repression of liberty 1789–1848. London: William Collins

100 Years of Invading the Middle East

By Val

IN MAY 2015, New Zealand soldiers will arrive in Iraq as part of a 'new' war there. They are being deployed as part of a US-led force to bolster the Iraqi army in its fight against the Islamic State (IS). The deployment does not enjoy much support in New Zealand, and more than half of the population is opposed to it.

Most thinking people have drawn the not-very-long line connecting the 2003 US invasion and subsequent decade-long occupation to this current situation. Most understand that the US created the very circumstances that precipitated this war, including setting up a sectarian Shia government, turning a blind eye to massacres of Sunni people by government-supported Shia militias, funding and arming opposition groups in Syria, and dismantling the old Iraqi army.

The New Zealand government, by contrast, seems to have relied on advice in deciding to send troops that takes little of this recent history into account.

It is extremely convenient for states to 'forget' about history – or rather to reinterpret it when and how it is convenient for them to do so. As historian Eric Davis notes in his history of Iraq, "State-sponsored history writing and cultural production complement the state's use of violence."¹

Such mythology has given rise to a widespread belief among many New Zealanders that the military here represents something less horrible and brutal than militaries elsewhere. 'Those trigger-happy' Americans is a familiar refrain. Many of us engage in a collective denial or willful naiveté about what New Zealand soldiers do.

History tells us a different story. We have been here before, a hundred years ago.

The New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) set sail to wage war on 15 August 1914. After arriving in Samoa, soldiers brutalised local Chinese indentured labourers, bashing and stabbing them with bayonets. Perhaps the labourers foolishly thought that the British might free them from the slave conditions they operated under in German Samoa.

The main fleet of the NZEF arrived in Egypt in November 1914. They were based there on and off over

the next four years. They would riot and brutalise the local population, treating them as subhuman. A special order implored them to avoid having anything to do with local Egyptians and established the racial hierarchy still in operation today:

"The natives in Egypt have nothing in common with the Maoris. They belong to races lower in the human scale, and cannot be treated in the same manner. The slightest familiarity with them will breed contempt which is certain to have far-reaching and harmful consequences. Every member of the Force in Egypt is charged with the responsibility of maintaining the prestige of the British race."

During the months of the Gallipoli campaign, as the decisive defeat of became apparent, New Zealand newspaper reporting changed the colour of the Turks from black men to white, lest readers at home imagined the white English losing to their racial inferiors.

After Gallipoli, many soldiers went further into the Middle East: to Palestine, to Syria, to Iraq and to Iran.

In Iraq, New Zealand's contribution to the invading army was small: a signal company, some nurses and pilots seconded to the Royal Air Force. But as the official history notes, "the Wireless Troop, although only a small unit of which very little was heard during the War, carried out some valuable work."²

Famously, British general Stanley Maude entered Baghdad on 19 March 1917 and issued a proclamation to the local population that "our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies, but as liberators." His words echoed from the lips of Tony Blair and George W. Bush in 2003 when they announced their war of 'liberation' for the people of Iraq.

The NZ Wireless Troop's official history notes that they "had been attached to the Cavalry Division, [and] was amongst the first batch of troops to enter the city." Later they would accompany a secret British mission into Iran to secure the oilfields.

In Palestine, after the armistice in 1918, New Zealand troops carried out a 'revenge' massacre of at least 40 Arab men, burning the village of Surafend to the ground, bashing the men to death and throwing their bodies down a well – all prompted by the belief that one of their

comrades had been murdered by a local man which the village refused to hand over.

Once they returned to Egypt, New Zealand troops were dispatched by the British to put down protests for independence by shooting the local 'Gippos' (racist parlance for Egyptian).

One might argue that it is all ancient history. Things have changed; or have they?

In 2002, New Zealand soldiers targeted three large compounds in the Afghan village of Band e Timur, going house-to-house and room to room, sometimes throwing in flash-bang grenades to stun the occupants and discourage resistance. The village elder was shot in the head, and a six-year-old girl died while fleeing in terror, falling 30 metres to her death down a well.

Fifty-five villagers were detained, all of them men. The oldest was in his 70s, the youngest was a 12-year-old boy called Baran Khan. These men were then handed over to the US and tortured.

In 2010, members of the NZ Special Air Service (NZSAS) were involved in 'revenge' mission that killed six Afghan villagers and injured 15 others for the death of Feilding soldier Lieutenant Timothy O'Donnell. US helicopter gunships acting along with the NZ and Afghan troops opened fire on the village.

In this age of embedded journalism and stage-managed production that characterises how war by the West against the Middle East is now conducted, these incidents are some of the few that we actually managed to hear about.

The military doesn't want us to know of these incidents, and the State certainly tries to obscure the grim horror of war while simultaneously draping the whole undertaking in mountains of nationalist, and human rights, rhetoric. In New Zealand, the media has been largely compliant in promulgating a benign portrait of the military.

Thinking people should not be surprised by the deployment of propaganda in defence of the military. However, we must never confuse it with truth @@@

Notes

1. Eric Davis, *Memories of State*
2. Official History of the New Zealand Engineers During the Great War 1914-1919, p 299

Barbarism

for Rosa Luxemburg & Rua Kēnana

Ten decades drip with orders that coyly claim our trust.
The language they speak has boots on.
Its weapons aim at us.
The years have hardly altered their writs on every wall:
their plans invest in continents,
their maps are taught in school.
No frontiers stem their credit, ambition names their foes,
each uniform forged word by word
by the enemy at home.

One hundred years of murdered friends since that
War to end all war...
All their borders we've defended
are re-drawn.

– *Rose Hollins*

Professional speaker

Cloying, clotted
warm with spittle
your own very personal spin
dribbling off the chin
licked up by the needy
who hear untrue stories
honestly just lies
about redemption
restoration
new hope
which never really happened like that
did it.
"I was speaking"
"this woman I didn't know"
who had fallen from the holy middle class
to the sinfulness of failure
"unemployed, depressed"
definitely sins
heard my story and has come back to join us
because "the right vision will never fail to be funded"
to success
to money
to power
"what a change in her life"
thanks to you, I presume,
Mr Professional Speaker.

– *Graham Cameron*

The unexpected perils of nationalism

The Trigger by Tim Butcher

Chatto & Windus, London 2014

Reviewed by Barrie Sargeant

2014 is the centenary of the outbreak of World War I. In New Zealand 'World War I' means Gallipoli and the Western Front. That's where most of the ANZACs spent their time so that has become the area of interest in this part of the world. It's understandable that this has happened but it means other aspects of the war are less known or understood. For example, how did it start? According to Baldrick in *Blackadder*: "I heard that it started when a bloke called Archie Duke shot an ostrich 'cause he was hungry". Nice try, but a bit wrong. The truth is, the assassin was a young man called Gavrilo Princip, part of a group of Bosnian nationalists who shot Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austro-Hungary when visiting his empire's outpost in Sarajevo. With millions of people across whole continents having died or been wounded, very little attention has been paid to Princip as an individual. Who was he and what motivated him?

Journalist Tim Butcher sets out to answer these questions. Butcher tries to literally follow in the footsteps of Princip from his home in the back of beyond (apparently the equivalent expression in the local language translates colourfully as 'where the wolves fuck') to the street corner in Sarajevo where he did the deed. This in itself could be quite interesting, but what gives the experience extra depth and resonance is that Butcher covered the Bosnia war during the '90s for the *Daily Telegraph* and in the course of his journey revisits places with multiple layers of personal and historical significance.

A lot of professional historians have been glib in their understanding of Princip, seeing him as a cypher for bigger forces and they have often merely repeated what their predecessors, colleagues or the Austro-Hungarian prosecutors at Princip's trial have said. The author's on-the-ground research managed to turn up stuff that had previously been ignored or overlooked. For example, there is a famous photo of police dragging away a man moments after the assassination. In nearly all accounts (ironically including some reviews of Butcher's book!) the photo is said to be of Princip. However, the writer establishes that it is actually Ferdinand Behr, an innocent bystander later released by the cops.

Butcher also manages to find Princip's school reports and reliable accounts of what the teenager got up to. The view that emerges is one of a quiet, intelligent and somewhat idealistic youth from an impoverished background. He had a strong sense of justice at an early age and grew to be a wilful but academically accomplished (for his time and place) teenager. Princip read works by the utopian socialist William Morris and the Russian anarchist Kropotkin as well as soaking in ideas of national liberation. As regards the latter, the author makes it clear that his subject's nationalism was of an ecumenical, inclusive sort that desired freedom for all south Slavs. He worked with Croats and Bosnian Muslims in order to achieve his goal of ending what Princip saw as the foreign occupation by Austria. It had little to do with the kind of fanatically sectional, extremist and genocidal form that took hold of the country in the 1990s. Butcher suggests this is perhaps part of the reason Princip is little known even in his own country.

Despite his reading interests, Princip was not an anarchist and Butcher does not write from a radical perspective. The book is well worth reading however. Firstly because it's intrinsically worth knowing who lay behind the immediate trigger that led to the war that killed so many workers in uniform. Secondly, the writer makes a good case for demarcating and separating Princip's form of inclusive nationalism in 1914 from Tito's maverick Yugoslav 'Communism' of the 40s–80s and Milosevic's exterminationist version of the '90s, but misses the fundamental ideological continuities that have persisted on a substrate level. If the example of Bosnia teaches us anything, it is that nationalism in the modern age is a universal dead end when it comes to real progress for humanity.

Nationalism sets up a mythos built on lies of exclusivity. It divides people along often artificial divisions of geography, religion and the slippery concept of 'culture' and allows elites to emerge. These rulers encourage the population to see others as different and potentially a threat to those on 'our side' of the mountain range, region or hemisphere. At its rare best it gives people a sense of identity while causing discrimination and tension. If anyone isn't sure how to answer the age old question of 'who benefits?' from such a way of operating, consider the fact that when Butcher was able to trace Princip's descendants he found they are almost as poor today as the family was 100 years ago! At the other end of the scale, you find fratricidal civil wars with lingering effects. When the journalist returned to the area, he joined in an annual peace march marking the massacre of Srebrenica and learned there are still hundreds of bodies being discovered. Worse still, well-meaning young assassins looking for national liberation can create a pretext for a conflagration that can lead to countries sending millions of other young people to die for 'the nation' @@@

